

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

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NODIS CHEROKEE

EYES ONLY FOR THE SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS-1

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: NEXT STEPS

REF: STATE 173898

1. I WOULD NOT EXPECT AT THIS POINT TO HAVE RECEIVED ANY SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FROM AFRICAN LEADERS AND I HAVE RECEIVED NONE. ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE GENERAYL WELCOMED OUR APPROACH THEY ARE RELUCTANT TO BE MORE SPECIFIC AT THIS STAGE BECAUSE OF OTHER ELEMENTS IN THE EQUATION WHICH THEY ARE UNABLE FULLY TO EVALUATE. AFTER GIVING US THEIR BLESSING TO CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS--WITHOUT COMMITMENT AS TO EVENTUAL DETAILS--THEY NOW EXPECT US TO DEVELOP SOMETHING MORE CONCRETE WHICH WILL THEN BE DISCUSSED WITH THEM AND THEY ASSUME SOUTH AFRICA.

2. THERE IS GENERAL SUPPORT FOR THE PROPOSALS AS WE HAVE OUTLINED THEM, ALTHOUGH THE WOULD WISH TO KNOW MORE ABOUT THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD AND THE GUARANTEE PROGRAM. THE MOST DIFFICULT FACTOR FOR THE AFRICANS IS THE RESUMPTION OF NEGOTITATIONS, NOT BECAUSE THEY OPPOSE IT BUT BECAUSE THEY ARE UNCERTAIN AS TO HOW IT CAN COME ABOUT. THEIR FIRST CONCERN IN THIS CONNECTION IS PROCEDURAL, I.E. WHEN WILL THE NEGOTIATIONS TAKE PLACE, BEFORE OR AFTER THE RESUMPTION OF BRITISH AUTHORITY; WITH WHOM WILL THE NATIONALIST LEADERS NEGOTIATE,

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SMITH, ABOUT WHOM THEY HAVE DEEP RESERVATIONS, SOMEONE ELSE,

THROUGH THE BRITISH OR IN CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE. THEIR SECOND CONCERN IS BASED ON THE CONTINUING DIVISION AMONG THE NATIONALIST LEADERS. THEY DONOT WISH TO FAVOR ONE POLITICAL LEADER OVER THE OTHER. THEREFORE NYERERE, WAS HE TOLD OUR AMBASSADOR IS WORKING TO GET NKOMO AND MUZOREWA TOGETHER TO MAKE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT MORE FEASIBLE.

3. I BELIEVE THAT I SHOULD NOT RETURN TO DAR ES SALAAM OR LUSAKA AT THIS POINT. I HAVE NOTHING MORE TO ADD AND WE WOULD NOT YET GET ANY FURTHER SPECIFICS. NYERERE HAS ALREADY DISCUSSED THIS SUBJECT WITH OUR AMBASSADOR (DAR ES SALAAM 2544). THEREFORE I BELIEVE THE BEST MOVE, AS YOU SUGGEST IN REFTEL IS FOR YOU TO SEND A MESSAGE TO NYERERE EXPRESSING YOUR THANKS FOR THE DISCUSSION WITH ME AND HIS SUBSEQUENT MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR SPAIN AND ASKING HIM TO INFORM YOU AS SOON AS POSSIBLE OF WHAT TRANSPIRED IN LUSAKA, PREFERABLY NOT ONLY WITH HIS FELLOW PRESIDENTS BUT ALSO WITH NKOMO AND MUZOREWA.

4. THEN I BELIEVE THAT YOU SHOULD SEND A MESSAGE TO VOSTER (I WILL SEND A POSSIBLE DRAFT) GIVING HIM OUR INTERPRETATION OF MY TALKS DURING THIS TRIP.

5. IN CONSULTATION WITH THE BRITISH WE SHOULD THEN DRAW UP MORE PRECISE FORMULAS FOR PROGRAM OF GUARANTEES AND TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, INCLUDING OPTIONS FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE NATIONALISTS. WE WOULD NEED IN THIS CASE TO HAVE AT LEAST SOME IDEA OF HOW MUCH FINANCIAL SUPPORT WE AND THE EUROPEANS CAN PUT TOGETHER FOR GUARANTEES.

6. ONCE THIS IS DONE I WOULD PROPOSE THAT WE ONCE AGAIN DEAL DIRECTLY WITH SOUTH AFRICA AND THE APPROPRIATE AFRICAN LEADERS, PROBABLY INCLUDING NKOMO AND MUZOREWA, IN AN EFFORT TO ESTABLISH MORE PRECISELY THE LIMITS TO WHICH THEY CAN GO.

7. I WOULD NOT EXCLUDE FROM OUR THINKING AN INITIAL EMPHASIS ON NAMIBIA, ASSUMING THAT SOUTH AFRICA COULD BRING ITSELF TO SEPARATE THE ISSUES TEMPORARILY. THE ADVANTAGE WOULD BE INDIRECTLY TO REINFORCE THE EFFORTS OF NYERERE

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AND KAUNDA CONCERNING RHODESIA SINCE THEY WOULD THEN HAVE CONVINCING PROOF THE U.S. EFFORTS CAN BE SUCCESSFUL AND PERHAPS ENABLE THEM TO DEFUSE THE EMPHASIS THAT OTHERS PLACE ON ARMED SOLUTION. IT WOULD ALSO BE RESPONSIVE TO THEIR OWN EXPRESSED PRIORITIES.

8. IF WE CAN PUT THIS TOGETHER SO THAT SOMEONE CAN TRAVEL AGAIN TO AFRICA BY THE END OF THE MONTH

WE WILL HAVE MAINTAINED THE MOMENTUM AND CONFIRMED OUR
OWN CREDIBILITY WITHOUT, I BELIEVE, UNDUE
RISK TO OUR EVENTUAL SUCCESS.

9. IT IS MY VIEW NOW THAT,, AS FAR AS THE AFRICANS ARE CONCERNED, WE
WILL HAVE TO DEAL ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY WITH NYERERE AND KAUNDA
IN ORDER TO ASSURE THAT WE KEEP THEIR CONFIDENCE, TO PREVENT
PREMATURE LEAKS, CAN RELY ON THEM FOR PRESSURE ON THE
NATIONALISTISTS AND MAKE THE PROGRESSS WHICH DEALING WITH THE
FEWEST NUMBER OF PEOPLE MAKES POSSIBLE. WE CAN
KEEP THE OTHER INFORME IN GENERAL TERMS.

10. I HAVE NO OBJECTIONS TO RETURNING TO DAR AND LUSAKA BUT I
BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE A GOOD START
WHICH, WITHOUT SOMETHING MORE THAN CONCRETE TO GO ON,
MIGHT BE ENDANGERED BY THE ATTENTION AND EXPECTATIONS ANOTHER
VISIT NOW WOULD AROSE. SMITH

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